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UNITY THE MEASURE OF POWER.

ADVANTAGES in human society are proportioned to the faculty of agreement. This is the great principle that is written on the whole scenery of civilization: it is the axiom by which we may estimate the world's progress, past, present and prospective.

Advantages are proportioned to the faculty of agreement. All the improvements of the age, railroads, telegraphs, steamships, manufactories, hotels, fairs, commercial enterprises, insurance, and the thousand lively characteristics of our present civilization, are due, every one of them, to the increased faculty of agreement there is among men, and express exactly the proportion in which this agreement is present. Think of the extent of concert required to build the railroad that now exists across the continent, and to tunnel the mountains, bridge the rivers, import the iron, build the engines, and run trains with regularity, so that passengers in the Eastern cities are able to check their baggage to San Francisco, pay their fare, and resign themselves without further care to a railroad organization, which, by virtue of the power of agreement, will have its army of officials stationed throughout the line of the road, each man having a certain duty to perform, and by their united concert insuring safe and regular arrivals on the shores of the Pacific.

The same principle was illustrated in the design and accomplishment of the great Centennial Exhibition. All the wonderful treasures of art, beauty and utility there collected from many parts of the world, from the first conception to the final combined exhibition of them, were the product of human agreement. Without it, they could never have existed—without a high development of it they could never have been brought together for the entertainment and instruction of all nations.

It is evident that power is rapidly accelerating with the increase of agreement, and that in consequence of it the conceptions and undertakings of men are continually vaulting into the miraculous. We are reminded of that remarkable saying of Christ to his disciples, "*If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.*" Is not this the great principle of human accomplishments? It is further evident that every advance which men make in the facility of agreement opens the way, by a natural law, for new and more radical steps in the same direction.

For instance, the present popular hotel system is an entirely new development of the faculty of agreement by which hundreds of families find themselves more pleasantly situated and served with the comforts and luxuries of life in a spacious common dwelling, than they could be in their separate establishment. Now the single step of moving into common agreement so far as it is included in common hotel life, while it increases the power of parties, and economizes their means, also opens the way for new advances on every hand in the art of social condensation, whereby still further advantages may be gained. For instance, it is obvious that only one step further in agreement would be necessary to combine the property of the separate families, in painting, sculpture, etc., into one more or less splendid common gallery, whereby the enjoyment of all would be immensely increased. So with the library privileges and all those kinds of property which are not consumable by use. Then it is but one step after this to communize the table and the wardrobe, with similar advantages accruing; and so the process of agreement naturally goes on in an expanding ratio of preparation and reward until it results in complete unity. All those business men who combine for public enterprise, those young men and artists who organize for holiday effect, and those citizens who resort to public boarding with their families, for economy of means, are tampering with a principle that has its final development and its full power in Communism. The world is really all undermined with this tendency—its selfishness is *powder-posted*, and the foremost ranks of society are liable at any time to stumble into virtual Communism, almost without knowing it.

The Fourierist formula for the solution of human relations and prospects is, "Attractions proportioned to Destinies." A modern school propounds the "Sovereignty of the Individual to be exercised at his own Cost." Our generalization, suggested above, is a little different from either of them, *viz.*, "*Advantages are proportioned to the faculty of Agreement.*" This is not so profound but that it can be easily understood—every stroke of progress preaches it to the dullest observation, and it is calculated to direct our efforts at improvement in a right, practical direction. It is evident that the development of this faculty of harmony will secure the final, universal premium. Those that can agree best one with another, and can work together harmoniously, will make out the best. Such is the law of this world, as well as the other. The great agreeing forces will be able to use all the labor-saving machinery, and so will take the means out of the hands of the isolated workmen.

It follows that that system which in the long run tends to promote the most unity is the best. Here comes in Christianity—Christ's principle of loving one another. Advantage is proportioned to union: the faculty of union is proportioned to true refinement; and true refinement is proportioned to faith.

The world has yet but imperfectly developed the faculty of agreement—society can only agree in a partial manner. Still a part is better than nothing; and the present attainments in the art of social agreement are to be valued for the proportion of power they give. The Rothschilds made it a rule to engage only in such business transactions as they could act in unanimously; and now they wield a power equal to that of kings and emperors. But they have not attained to the highest results of unity. Any body of men and women who have a better faculty of agreeing than the Rothschilds, have the germs of greater power, to be developed sooner or later, even in this world. The highest results of the faculty of union will be manifest in the department of *life* itself. The Rothschilds with their millions can only operate in a superficial sphere. They can not help a sick person, or make a man happy in his domestic relations. Power in this department is the result of that final development of agreement, where selfishness is wholly abolished from between men. And certain as it is that society has been progressively raised to its present state above barbarism by the power of this principle of agreement, so certain is it that the end and perfection of this principle will give complete power over evil in all its forms. That unity which Christ held up as the standard of his system will be effectual to change character, vitalize society and abolish death. Such is the good conclusion to be derived from the axiom that *Advantages are proportioned to the faculty of Agreement.*

IS THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY COMMUNISTIC?

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I thank you very much for sending me the last few numbers of your admirable paper, and for your offer to exchange with my little venture, the *Workingman's Ballot*, which offer I gladly accept.

In one of the first of your papers that I received (Nov. 15th) was an editorial article on the Workingmen's Party, elicited by J. F. Bray's letter in the same issue, and commenting upon the programme of the said party, of which I am an insignificant member. I was very glad to notice your sympathy with the general objects of that party, and your recognition of the importance of the movement and of the political and social tendencies of the present phase of Labor Reform.

I marked some passages in your article that seemed to me to indicate that you had not yet arrived (if you will excuse my saying so) at a complete understanding either of our theory of reform or of our ideal industrial system, or of the methods and machinery of its realization. It was my intention to reply to you in my own paper; but as circumstances have delayed its issue for a week or two, and as I am anxious that what I have to say may reach all your readers, I have concluded to write to you direct. I am strengthened in this resolve by having just read in the SOCIALIST of this date, Dec. 6, an article from the *N. Y. World*, headed "Boston Communism;" an editorial of your own referring to it; another letter from J. F. Bray, and a translated article from the Ohio *Volkszeitung*, bearing upon the same general subject.

The prominence that you have thus given to our movement in the columns of your widely-known journal, the misapprehensions that seem to me to exist in regard to it, even among the best informed Socialists, including yourself, and the necessity that we should be correctly understood on important points, will, I trust, make my letter acceptable.

One thing more I must premise: the Workingmen's Party is not at present very thoroughly organized, nor is its declaration of principles or its platform of measures fully accepted even by all of its own members. It is not the result of a largely representative deliberation. It was the hasty work of a very few representative men who met last year in Philadelphia with the *chief object* of effecting a union between three or four distinct organizations; one of which was international, one national, and the others State or local. The harmonizing impulse that brought them together was, the necessity of union and organization, rather than any exact similarity of sentiment or opinion. The union effected was thus, in some degree, the result of compromise between ideas of reform that in several respects differed widely. The Workingmen's Party, then, is not homogeneous; so that I, or any other member, venturing to explain its principles or objects, must be understood as speaking for himself alone, except when his statements are confirmed by the express words of the general platform tacitly accepted by all.

The first and most important point that has attracted my attention in all that I have read in your paper relating to our party is, that its principles and tendencies are *Communistic.* Some of our friends, and even some of our own members, erroneously concede that; and all our enemies—so far as I have observed—charge us with that. I can find no plank in our platform that will bear such a construction, and I, for one, repudiate it altogether. There is no relationship between Social Democracy and Communism. They are antagonistic ideas. The nearest approach to Communism in our platform is contained in its last plank or proposition:

"11th. All industrial enterprises to be placed under the control of the Government as fast as practicable, *and operated by free coöperative trades-unions for the good of the whole people.*"

This, as the article you quote from the *Volkszeitung* explains, is, like the other ten measures of immediate reform proposed, only *provisional* and transitional as between the present and the future industrial systems; and it is one of the measures in regard to which difference of opinion exists within the party. Mr. Bray, for instance, in one of his letters to you, says: "If these toilers in factories and workshops worked for themselves, *holding their profits in common*, would it not be Communism?" I answer, yes, it would; but when he says that "this is really the ultimate aim of the Workingmen's Party; they propose to form themselves into industrial Communistic bodies, under Government supervision, where *all profits will go to the mass*," I entirely disagree with him, and disavow that as the purpose of our movement.

In the outline of your views concerning the principles and plans "of our party" you say: "The movement is, in essence, a concerted effort of the Workingmen to emancipate themselves from labor bondage." "This," you say, "is a laudable object," and yet you express surprise and blame these bond-servants, that, in their "laudable object" of freeing themselves from bondage, they failed to secure the sympathy of their bond-masters!

In endeavoring "to point out to them wherein they have made the mistake which has led to this state of things," you —as it seems to me—fall into serious mistakes yourself; for instance: you speak of the American Labor movement as "an offshoot" from a similar movement in Europe, "especially in Germany." It is just as correct, and no more so, to say that our entire industrial and commercial system is "an offshoot" from the industrial and commercial system of Europe. The system is, in fact, identical in all civilized nations; and, as "like causes produce like effects," of course the labor movement in the various countries corresponds, with such variations as trifling differences of local circumstances account for. Instead of the labor movement in America having been imported from Germany or France, it would be far more correct to say that it was imported from England, with the movement in which country it has, until quite recently, most nearly corresponded. The movement here has been, and is still (I regret to say) mainly a trades-union movement, having for its object a continual conflict with capital as to the rates of wages and the hours of labor. The movement in England has been, and is still, precisely the same. The important fact in the circumstances of the working-classes in England that explains, and, until recently, justified the trade-union form of organization in that country, is, that the great majority of them were, before the passage of the last Reform Bill, *without political rights.* The agricultural laborers are still in the same condition, which explains the success of Joseph Arch. The trade-union movement here owes its origin to the importation of English labor educated in these ideas. It has never taken a firm hold here and it never ought to, because American workingmen have the BALLOT.

Another important fact is, that trades-unions in England as well as in America are rapidly becoming *powerless*, because one of the conditions of their success is, that the demand and supply of labor should be about equal; another is, that *skilled* labor should be necessary for productive purposes. Neither of these conditions now exist. Machinery has taken the place of labor, especially of *skilled* labor. Skilled workmen are walking the streets. Women and children do their work. The movement in France is more Communistic in character; while that in Germany, which, until Lassalle's time, imitated the English, has now assumed a character of its own, known as Social Democracy.

That this new phase of agitation and idea of reform is mainly an importation I admit, but it is not entirely so, and it would have been developed out of the circumstances here, even if Germany had no existence. It was actively and publicly advocated in Boston by myself and others, in every thing except the name, for two or three years before we knew of such ideas being proposed outside of Boston. It was entirely spontaneous and grew out of the circumstances that demanded it.

But what do the Social Democrats propose,—"to *force* the rich to an equal distribution of present wealth," as you suppose? Not at all. They propose to change the methods both of producing and distributing wealth, so as to render it impossible for wealth to become so unequally and unequitably distributed in the future. To be sure they threaten "the rights of property which now exist;" so did the abolitionists in their day. The abolitionists *denied the right* of white men to hold black men as property for the purpose of enriching themselves by such enslaved labor. The Social Democrats deny the right of any man, or class of men, to hold *the means of labor* (in its use as such) for the purpose of enriching themselves by the labor of others. (By "the means of labor" we signify land, and all other natural resources and agencies, such as steam, etc.; and capital, or wealth *when used productively.*)

This brings me to the consideration of the real difference that distinguishes Social Democracy (the fundamental idea of the Workingmen's Party) from Communism, in relation to political economy or the ownership, production and distribution of wealth. Communism proposes not only the collective ownership by the entire Community, or by independent associations (as suggested by Bray), of all *the means of labor;* but also, the collective ownership of *the entire products of labor;*—that is, it includes the whole wealth of the Community except what is needed to meet individual wants from day to day.

Social Democracy, on the other hand, draws a distinction between social or common wealth, and individual or private wealth, and it is only the former that it proposes to place under collective ownership or control; the latter it reserves as the sacred right or property of each individual.

The line of distinction is drawn at the point where any species of wealth—natural or artificial—is used for purposes of increase; that is, for any purpose besides individual *use.* There are some kinds of what is now considered wealth, and bought and sold as such, which Social Democracy does not consider *wealth* at all (using the word in the sense of *property*): such as land, and its spontaneous productions; water and its spontaneous productions. These it places in the same category as air, sunshine and so on. They are not susceptible of being *owned* either socially or privately, but their *use* by all, and for the equal benefit of all, Social Democracy proposes to place under collective guardianship or control.

The utmost advantage of the great variety of individual aptitudes which distinguish man from all other animals, and which make "division of labor" and Coöperation natural to him, is what Social Democracy seeks to secure. It proposes to secure these advantages in the interest of all, by preventing persons possessed of certain aptitudes, which, unrestrained by social control, experience shows they will use injuriously to others, from abusing such faculties or aptitudes.

In regard to this object, Communism and Social Democracy are seeking the same end; the former by making the whole products of labor common property, which it could only attain at *the expense of production*, as the stimulus to individual effort would be destroyed—while the latter expects to accomplish it by rendering "the means of labor" accessible to every person, by enabling each to choose his own sphere of industry, and by giving him the full benefits of his individual ability and efforts through the equitable division of joint profits in the form of wages. How this equitable division of profits is to be effected, how the necessary balance of industries is to be maintained, how the direction of the whole system is to be ordered, can not in this article (already too long, I fear, for your space), be explained. I will, however, with your permission, endeavor to do this in your next issue, as I wish to reply to your observations in regard to the N. Y. *World's* article on "Boston Communism" in relation to the municipal platform of the Boston section of the Workingmen's Party.

Suffice it to say now, that all the objections raised in your columns and elsewhere have been carefully considered, and in my opinion fully met, and this with a full recognition of the facts of human nature, and in harmony with the law of "demand and supply," and all other laws—so far as I know—governing the subject. Respectfully yours,

Boston, Dec. 6, 1877. W. G. H. SMART.

In the second communication above promised, which we have received but have not room for, Mr. Smart, on behalf of the Workingmen's Party, claims our pledged allegiance in the following paragraphs, referring mainly to the arguments of his first communication as his warrant for taking possession. ED. AM. SO.

* * * * In respect to your brief editorial note acknowledging the "fair, moderate, conciliatory reply" of the *Volkszeitung* to your friendly overtures to our party, and to your pledge to "join it and work for it with all your might" on certain conditions that you specify, I venture to say that the objects and policy of the Workingmen's Party are just such as you describe for your ideal party; that the "war spirit" is entirely absent, and that the methods by which it hopes to bring about the salutary and just changes it proposes are purely American and democratic.

* * * * We propose to bring about all the desired changes *as the times ripen for them*, by the peaceful instrumentality of the BALLOT; and we intend no "violent or coërcive measures" except under such circumstances as induced the Government and people of the United States, in 1861, to use force in self-defense against the aggressive and rebellious acts of a haughty and tyrannical minority. Your objections to our party arise from misapprehension; and if you have no others to present besides those mentioned in your article of Nov. 15th, and which, it seems to me, have been fully met, I now call upon you to redeem your pledge, unite with us, devote your paper to our cause, and give us the benefit of your wise counsels and influence.

THE BALLOT BETTER THAN THE SWORD.

From the *St. Louis Echo.*

WE greatly dislike to have workingmen talk about strikes, riots, and revolutions, as the agencies by which they may, in the event of certain contingencies, secure the ends aimed at by their organization. We are workingmen, and not ashamed to follow any honorable avocation, believing in the dignity and nobility of labor; that it is the duty of every one, high or low, great or small, rich or poor, to labor; and while we belong to the Workingmen's Party and share with them our common oppression, and partake of all their hardships and the feelings inspired by this long reign of injustice, yet we can see no danger of a contingency arising of so grave a nature as to warrant a resort to such extreme measures. Our object can be attained much sooner by discouraging any and all such unwise and injurious acts. We say unwise, because riots are always unwise, and the almost universal failure of strikes to accomplish any good characterizes them as unwise. We say injurious, because frequently they result in bloodshed and the destruction of valuable property, without securing any good to the participators therein. Take, for example, the coal-miners of Desmoines, Iowa, whose strike for the last twelve weeks came to so unhappy a conclusion a few days since. * * * *

Instead of strikes, we want a *thorough* organization, and a perfect understanding of each other. Then our oppressors will learn that the ballot is more powerful than the sword. The laboring classes, those who make their living by patient toil, are far more numerous than the horde of wealthy oppressors, and when influences are brought to bear to bring them all into unison with each other, a victory is the easiest thing imaginable. Until this is done, we must labor and wait, "and in patience possess our souls."

A good beginning has been made, and the work goes bravely on. One false step now will do the cause of the suffering laborers and producers an almost irreparable injury. Our course now must be such as to disabuse the public mind of that false impression, that we are the dregs of society, all incendiaries and teachers of sedition. We must continue to agitate the labor question, until those who are in partial or total ignorance of our principles and aims are made to see, understand, and fraternize with us. If we would commend ourselves and our principles to the people at large, we must exhibit in all our movements a sense, not only of propriety, but of a just regard for the rights of others; chief among which are life, liberty and property.

While it is true that we are poor and deprived of our rights, and caused to endure sufferings by a class of monied aristocrats in whose eyes the light of pity has expired, whose hearts are calloused until they look unmoved upon scenes of suffering, that "would make the angels weep," yet we must endure in patience until we can remedy the evils that assail us in accordance with the forms of law, and lend a dignity to our actions that will commend us not only to ourselves, but to the whole world. Let there be no turbulence, violence, riot, bloodshed, nor destruction of property.

A COLONY OF SOCIALISTS.

From the *Detroit Post* and *Tribune.*

I HAVE found here in Northern Colorado a Community of unusual interest. Pleased with the prospect I stayed several days, and became familiar with the history of the people. For the first time, here have been, in a large measure, successfully realized the splendid hopes and theories of certain prominent Socialistic thinkers. Briefly, here in the Great American Desert the principles of coöperation have been applied to agriculture in a larger and more successful degree than ever before. I found here a society and an institution more pure and more Democratic than the Puritan fathers ever hoped. To Horace Greeley and N. C. Meeker, an associate editor on the *Tribune*, are due the inception of the idea and the maturing of plans. These gentlemen had long maintained that coöperation was possible and practicable. The theory had often been unsuccessfully tried. Mr. Greeley said the doctrine had no inherent defect, and that it only needed a large practical wisdom to make the application successful. Through life the doctrine had been a leading Socialistic problem with him. In 1869 he made a tour through the West, and discovered a splendid opportunity to colonize some portion of the Territory of Colorado upon a coöperative plan.

A meeting was called in Cooper Institute in December, 1869. Mr. Greeley presided, and that night the Union Colony of Greeley was organized. The members were to pay $155 each into a common fund, which was to purchase and prepare the land.

Early in April the locating committee came on, purchased and got surveyed a block of 40,000 acres, 50 miles north of Denver, and distant 25 miles from the Rocky Mountains.

Seven hundred members had joined, and in the spring of 1870 they, with their families, arrived. A constitution was adopted reminding the members that the coöperative object of the organization was for the purpose of manufacturing and mining, encouraging immigration, building roads, maintaining ditches, building schools, academies and churches, and carrying on business designed to aid in the industrial and productive interests of the Territory.

To prepare the soil, irrigation was early planned, and from the colony fund, a canal was dug 30 miles long and costing $60,000. The Poudre was dammed near the mountains and then tapped above with the canal. The water was conveyed along the highest practicable point of the high bluffs, down through the colony lands. The elevation secured a descent and by means of laterals every acre around and below could be watered. A square mile was set apart for a village to be called Greeley, at which the business of the colony could be transacted. The country around was surveyed into farms, in size and order from the village, of 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 60, and 120 acre fields. The members were allowed to have a lot in the village or a farm. To protect from the great herds of cattle roaming over the plains, a colony fence 46 miles long was built around its land at a cost of $40,000.

The Community was so completely isolated, and all the

preparations so far experimental, and where accurate calculation could seldom be made, that two or three years were employed in preparations. Then every year the grasshoppers came, and little was grown. Money was scarce, food and implements of husbandry were dear. The country and methods of agriculture were strange, and are now only becoming understood. Compare the two ends of the seven years' history: A large and prosperous agricultural Community, a beautiful village, with churches and schools, have been built and surrounded with an atmosphere of high morality, temperance and culture. This year 10,000 acres were in cultivation, 200,000 bushels of wheat and 250,000 bushels of potatoes grown. The aggregate products of the farms was nearly $500,000, and this, plus the business of the village, amounts to more than $750,000. A few timely snowstorms this spring destroyed the scourge of grasshoppers. The farmers have thus had their first fair trial, and their lands have yielded fifty per cent. income on the investment.

Coöperation has made production, and consequently living, from 25 to 40 per cent. cheaper here than elsewhere in Colorado. The coöperative principles have been applied in the general, leaving the details to be worked out by individual efforts. In these matters of wholesale purchase of land, fencing and irrigation, several hundred thousand dollars were saved, and now the annual interest on that amount. The people own the lands, the water, the fences, the village and all the privileges coöperation has secured them. These conditions and privileges which accompany the farms are as much a part of them as the foundation rocks. A board of trustees is elected annually, a superintendent of canals and fences employed, and assessments levied every year to meet all expenses.

The village is beautifully arranged and laid out, with large lots and streets 100 feet wide. Here 1,800 people reside, in residences all ample in size, neatly built and painted, and embowered among rich groves. Five or six churches have been built on land set apart by the colony. In the center of the village is a park of twenty acres, and beyond rises a handsome brick three-story school building, which cost $35,000.

The people are justly proud of their record. They have no poor, no criminals, no idle loafers, and no police. Several winters ago a large poor fund was contributed and made free to those requiring aid, but in all the colony no one has ever applied for help. There is a jail, built long ago, but only one, an idle Chicago tramp, whose feet were too large for the "straight and narrow way" of this people, has ever occupied it. There were but two fires in the first six years, and no fire department is called for. There is a high degree of morality. The people are of strong sympathies and knit strongly together. To-day this village and Community are the most prosperous in Colorado. Here 4,000 people have found happy homes, and form the nucleus of what shall be in time 50,000 population. The desert has been made to blossom as the rose; in this beautiful valley virtue, temperance and culture have come to dwell, and here industry will always recompense. The future is magnificent.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

XVI.

"There has not been a better thing done in this country, in my opinion, than the establishment of Coöperation, such as the successful Coöperation of which Lancashire deserves the principal credit."—*The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P.*

While the appeals which had hitherto been made to the Government and the wealthy to promote Coöperation had been met with indifference and apathy, the addresses to the working-classes in 1826 began to be appreciated. The labors of Mr. Owen, Mr. Abram Combe, and Mr. W. Thompson, author of the "Distribution of Wealth," and others, were made known in the pages of the *Monthly Coöperative Magazine* and attracted much attention. Mr. Thompson advised the working-classes to seek the amelioration of their condition by altering the direction of their labor, and, instead of working for they know not whom, work for each other; to "supply each other's wants by becoming producers and consumers, masters and employers to each other." They were advised to help themselves. This advice was soon carried into practice. The friends of Coöperation determined to act upon the maxim of union, and for the purpose of realizing funds they adopted the business of retail trading, and hence arose the

FIRST COÖPERATIVE STORE IN ENGLAND.

Societies for the discussion and dissemination of Coöperative intelligence had been established and existed in London from 1822, but to Mr. William Bryan, a workingman of Brighton, is due the credit of forming the "Trading-Fund Association" or Store, for "the purpose of accumulating a fund out of the profits of retail trade so as to enable persons to form a Community of Coöperators and Community of property." It was anticipated that a large sum might ultimately be secured, so as to commence an experiment in Communism. Out of the discussions as to the best means for effecting a vast revolution in social life arose the system of trade as an auxiliary for the contemplated change. "Trading Associations" were considered as stepping-stones to Coöperation and Communism. There can be no mistake as to the objects of those who, at that day, organized the Coöperative Stores. Dr. King wrote: "When the capital has accumulated sufficiently, the Society may purchase land, live upon it, cultivate it themselves, and produce any manufactures they please, and so provide for all their wants of food, clothing and houses; and the Society will then be called a Community. When the members are too old to work, they will still live comfortably among their friends, and end their days in peace and plenty instead of the workhouse. When a man dies the Community will receive his widow and children into their bosom; she will not know the pangs of desertion, nor be obliged to send her children to the parish."

In addition to the store, a "Coöperative Community Fund Association" was formed to raise a sum of £1,250 by weekly subscriptions or shares, to take or lease land to form a small Community. The subscriptions were to suit the convenience of all, and the shares to be £25 each and to be transferable.

It is very evident that the aims of the founders of Coöperation were to raise funds for a united purpose and to possess land as common property, and to occupy it in Community. The stores were established with the same objects in other parts of the country.

A Community was formed at Orbiston by Abram Combe, assisted by Donald McDonald, who afterward became an active member at New Harmony. Mr. Combe and Mr. Hamilton obtained two hundred and ninety-one acres for £20,000, situated nine miles from Glasgow. The funds were raised by shares. A large building, costing £10,000, was erected and arranged to accommodate one hundred families. The zeal and devotedness of Mr. Combe contributed to overcome the difficulties arising from the admission of ill-assorted persons, but his excessive labors and unnecessary exposure injured his health, and he died on the eleventh of August, 1827, of consumption. The remaining trustees were deficient in the necessary confidence for such an undertaking, and the lack of support put an end to the experiment owing to the want of funds.

The Trading-Fund Stores multiplied in various parts of the country. The efforts of Mr. S. Rene were useful in London, those of Mr. Vesey at Exeter, Mr. Pare at Birmingham, and Mr. Finch at Liverpool.

On the establishment of the *Brighton Coöperator* by Dr. King Trading-Fund Associations were rapidly multiplied. A few workingmen of Brighton determined to help themselves by cultivating the land. In a month after the first number of the *Coöperator* was published a farm was taken of twenty-eight acres. Trading-Fund Societies greatly extended, as we see by the statement that in May, 1828, the societies formed were 4; January, 1829, 12; December, 1829, 130; February, 1830, 170; August, 1830, 300; October, 1830, 400; October, 1832, 700.

UNANIMITY.

The article on "Agreement" by Theo. L. Pitt in the last Socialist is worthy of much consideration. We believe it is the word for the times.

In reporting the doings of Congress, a prominent journal complains that "Public service is subordinated to partisanship." This is an evil under which the country has long suffered and groaned. Thinking, patriotic men every-where are tired of *party* strife. There is an excellent chance now to inaugurate the era of peace and conciliation by *abolishing partyism*. What if we take hold and try *unanimity*—strike out boldly and go for one party? If such a movement could get fairly started, we are confident that it would soon receive the cordial support of the moral sentiment of the country, from Maine to California. Difficulties will arise as they always do in every new undertaking, but apparent or real, they need not prevent a fair consideration of any measure that shall make for peace.

It is the old idea that to keep the nation alive, and to prevent abuses, there must be two parties to watch each other. But the moths do get into the public hive, despite this party watching; and further, evils of a special kind are fostered by the system of which devotion to party aggrandizement is one of the greatest. It cultivates the war spirit, encourages faction and sectional prejudices. It watches against good as well as evil, for it will not do to let the opposite side gain an advantage by carrying through beneficent measures; while, on the other hand, it justifies or conceals its own shortcomings. Genuine patriotism is independent of partyism. For instance, civil-service reform was so spontaneous an outburst from the people that it forced "both of the great political parties to agree in the most explicit declaration of the necessity of reform and in the most emphatic demands for it;" and yet the official action of the representatives of these parties is open to the just criticism of "subordinating public service to partisanship." The truth is, that the narrowness of party lines stifles the growth of liberal views and generous action; while it cultivates that pride of opinion and self-will that stands in the way of conciliation. If, then, the nation has outgrown the idea that party antagonism is the palladium of public prosperity, we may be free to try the policy of unanimity.

The genius of the times is certainly leading in this direction. The number of worthy men and women who have been impelled, by their loyalty to liberal and unitary views, to break away from their political ties and religious creeds, is constantly increasing. The divine life, afflatus or spiritual force that is in the heart of humanity, is silently but surely lifting man out of sectarianism, sectionalism and partyism. The growth of harmony between sections and classes is obstructed by these icy mountains of *isms*. God speed their melting away before the genial influences of peace and fraternity.

But one party—how shall we arrive at that? First and always, by keeping in mind the supreme importance of peace. Neither remonetization nor demonetization, a high nor low tariff, will save the country, but conciliation and agreement will. It is not impossible that a platform can be found broad enough for all the true-hearted to stand upon, having a policy that shall conserve all interests. Different periods change conditions and offer new possibilities. The nation may take a step now for which it was never before ready.

Here is an opportunity for a one-party movement on the largest scale in this rising of the "workingmen's party." The truth is that we of the North are all workingmen. Our grandfathers were farmers and mechanics, as are likely to be our children's children. We used to be called "mud-sills" by the South. Now the North by its actual status, and by its abolition of slavery, the only practical element of hostility to workingmen that the nation has ever had, is already, if it did but know it, a workingmen's party. And now that slavery is abolished and the Southern men have taken hold of work, and they too are workingmen, why not go unanimously for the workingmen's party and workingmen's interests, and make this in reality a workingmen's country, which is the true American idea? E. H. H.

Five men own one-fourth of Scotland. One duke owns 96,000 acres in Derbyshire, besides vast estates in other parts of England and in Ireland. Another, with estates all over the United Kingdom, has 40,000 acres in Sussex and 300,000 acres in Scotland. This nobleman's park is fifteen miles in circumference! Another duke has estates which the high-road divides for twenty-three miles! A marquis there is who can ride a hundred miles upon his own land! There is a duke who owns almost an entire county stretching from sea to sea. An earl draws £200,000 every year for his estates in Lancashire. A duke regularly invests £80,000 a year in buying up lands adjoining his already enormous estates. A marquis enjoys £1,000,000 a year from land. An earl lately died leaving to his heirs £1,000,000 sterling and £160,000 a year income from land. The income from land derived by one ducal family is £1,600,000, which is increasing every year by the falling in of leases. One hundred and fifty persons own half England, seventy-five persons own half of Scotland, thirty-five persons own half Ireland; and all the lands of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland are owned by less than 60,000 persons, and they say to the remaining 32,000,000 of people: "All this land of Great Britain and Ireland was given to the children of men, and behold! we are the Lord's children in possession, and you millions, you go to work!"—*The Builder.*

A FORTUNATE PRESENTIMENT.

In March last, while the ill-fated United States steamer *Huron* was lying in the harbor of Port Royal, S. C., Lieutenant Arthur H. Fletcher, her executive officer, left the vessel on a twenty-four hours' leave of absence, and, failing to return at the expiration of that time, the ship sailed for another port without him. A few days after Mr. Fletcher returned to Port Royal, reported to Commodore J. H. B. Clitz, "senior naval officer present," and stated to him that for some time past he had had a presentiment that, if he went to sea in the *Huron* for the purpose of finishing the cruise (two years) he would be wrecked. This feeling took complete possession of his mind, and he used every means to get

detached, but the Navy Department refused to order it without a better reason. When he found that all his efforts had failed, he left the *Huron* in the manner stated, with the intention not to return. For this he was placed under arrest and tried by court-martial at Washington Navy Yard in August last. In defense he made a statement, in substance as above, and called Commodore Clitz, Commander George P. Ryan of the *Huron*, and other officers to prove that, before leaving the ship, he told them the dread—in fact horror—he had of finishing the cruise in the vessel. This is a matter of record, on file in the Navy Department, and, though such a line of defense was laughed at when made, the fate of the *Huron* will cause many superstitious people to think that Mr. Fletcher's premonition was fully proven to be a true one by the wreck off Kitty Hawk, N. C.—*Springfield Republican.*

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1877.

THE AMERICAN PARTY.

We publish Mr. Smart's communications beginning on our first page, not because they can properly claim place in our paper, being confessedly non-Communistic, but because they furnish a clear and temperate statement of the principles and plans of one wing of the Workingmen's party, which every body ought to understand. We confess also that we are glad to grace our paper with them because they are so well written and so sure to be interesting to our readers, whether right or wrong.

Mr. Smart is in too much of a hurry to claim us as *engaged* to his party. We were in a sort of courtship with the other wing (represented by our German friends of the *Volkszeitung*), which favors progression and admits that progression ends in Communism; but Mr. Smart comes in as an interrupter of this courtship, denying that the Workingmen have any leaning toward Communism, and yet appropriating our pledge, as though we had promised to give up Socialism and turn over our paper to a mere political party which has not yet settled its principles.

To be frank we must say, that Mr. Smart's platform seems to us to set forth the very plans and principles which we deprecated in our overture to the Workingmen's party. It is confessedly a foreign platform, English or German or both—not American—and it has in it, under some obscurity of statement, the appearance, at least, of a proposal to *force* a redistribution of present wealth; which feature was the very stumbling-block we pointed out as sure to rouse the hostility of the strong classes in this country. It is also a *war-platform*, with only the usual proviso that war must have a just cause; which proviso is the excuse for all wars, is always used on both sides, and makes the end of war impossible in any other way than by the supremacy of the strongest human brute.

We can not hold ourselves engaged to the Workingmen's party on this platform. If this is really the Workingmen's general platform, we think that party will fail in this country, because it will make enemies of those who have the sinews of war—wealth, and intelligence—and will find itself in the helpless condition the negroes would have been in if they had had no North to fight their battles. Even if it has the advantage of numbers (which is doubtful) it will find that the balance of power, in the brute struggle which it will provoke, will be on the side of those who have the most money and the best education, and who are intrenched in lawful possession. We have no hope of real reform or improvement of human conditions in this direction. The Workingmen's party to which we have offered ourselves and our paper is, as we said in our first overture, one which abhors compulsory Communism and war, and is going to work out a new platform in the American spirit.

And here we will try to indicate our ideal of a Workingmen's party that will be truly American.

To begin with first principles, we hold that the distinction into antagonistic classes, of the rich and the poor, of capitalists and laborers, is not American, but belongs to the Old World. In this country we are *all* Workingmen. Not one man in a thousand of us but had farmers or mechanics for our fathers or grandfathers. Nine-tenths if not ninety-nine-hundredths of our Congressmen and Legislators and rich leaders in all professions and businesses came up from the laboring classes. Vanderbilt was a boatman; Peter Cooper was a hat-maker; A. T. Stewart was a pack-peddler; John Jacob Astor once trudged on foot like a tramp, with all his worldly effects in a little bundle; Abraham Lincoln was a rail-splitter; President Hayes' father was a farmer and his grandfather was a blacksmith. It is nonsense to call these men "bond-masters," or even "capitalists" in the sense that makes a distinct class of them, like the lordly rulers of European countries, and sets them apart from the workers, as though they were born to rule or had no sympathy with the classes they sprung from. The distinction between this country and Europe is not half stated when we say that all men here have the ballot. *All men here have fresh workingmen's blood in their veins.* All men here have tickets in the great lottery which dispenses all the prizes of life. Some draw big prizes, some draw little prizes, and some draw blanks; but their chances are substantially equal, as they are not in countries where feudal aristocracies, based on force and primogeniture, have taken the great prizes out of the wheel. The importation of European ideas about the antagonisms of classes, is a delusion, and leads to all manner of causeless jealousies and hatreds and false political issues.

An American Workingmen's party, then, should assume that all classes here are born and bred Workingmen; that the grab-game in which they are engaged, merciless as it is, is as fair for one as it is for another; that the rich became so by grabbing as fast as they could from a sense of duty to themselves and to their families, and honestly consider their success the fair result of diligence and good luck; that the poor would have grabbed as much as the rich if they could have done so, and must attribute their ill-success to their own weakness and bad luck. In a word a true Workingmen's party must have justice and charity enough to think the rich are as well-meaning and reasonable and open to conviction as the poor; and it must have wit enough to see that its success absolutely depends on securing the help of the natural leaders of society, who are these very men who have worked their way up from the bottom to the top in life's chances.

"But," says the attorney for the poor, "what are we to fight against, then, if we give up the distinction of classes and acknowledge that the rich are our brethren and equals in a game that is as fair for one as for another?" Fight against the GAME, we say. It is this whole system of grabbing that is to blame. We are all in a gambling-hell together; and we are all dreadfully anxious to win. The only difference between us is that some win and others lose—and that is not a moral difference. But they that lose make it hot for them that win; so that it is hell for us all. The fault is not in any particular class of gamblers, but *in the game.* The devil in this hell is Competition. Any state of society which has that devil in it will be a gambling-hell, regulate it as we may. In rejecting Communism, Mr. Smart distinctly gives us to understand that he does not propose to cast out that devil. On the other hand, our friends of the *Volkszeitung* acknowledge some favor toward Communism, as the probable far-off end of the progression upon which the Workingmen are entering. We acknowledge, therefore, our preference for our first suitor.

J. H. N.

At the present time, when so many plans for Coöperative Colonization are maturing, the account we publish in the present number of what has been actually accomplished by the Coöperative colony of Greeley, Colorado, will command the attention of the reader. We question whether the inhabitants of Greeley would like to be called a "Colony of Socialists," but certainly their settlement has several Socialistic features, and for the ultimate success of general Socialism we rely greatly upon the multiplication of colonies like that founded by N. C. Meeker and Horace Greeley.

We have received the past week several applications for assistance. One man wishes us to find him the right men for helping him start a Community—"men of energy, talent and courage—who will take right hold, and take hold right, and hang on—substantial, honest and true men, who have some means, and no families, or only small families." With this aid he thinks he sees the way clear to success. Another wishes us to purchase, or aid him in purchasing, a tract of land which is "very valuable for Community purposes," and "of great importance" to the special object he has in view. Another wishes us to furnish a secretary and other officials for the general Socialistic organization which has been proposed; and so on. We wish to say that we are fully devoted to the cause of Socialism, and to further its interests shall continue to devote our time and means. But we shall have to decide for ourselves how much we can do and do well; and we have concluded that all we can at present fairly undertake is the publication of the American Socialist. If we should take upon ourselves the various other responsibilities that are urged upon us, the Socialist would soon die a natural death. Will not our friends consider that we are already doing fully our share in behalf of Socialism, and excuse us from giving attention to special schemes except in a general way through the Socialist?

WILL TRY TO DO BETTER NEXT TIME.

Wilmington, Dec. 9, 1877.

Editor American Socialist:—For several years, I have noticed that many of the writers of the public Journals, both of England and America, evince a very disparaging spirit toward each other's country, finding fault with, railing at, or condemning a whole nation, for the faults, errors, or crimes of a comparatively few individuals, and frequently even of one individual. This is much to be regretted on many accounts. It tends to foster and increase the already too abundant crop of national antipathies, prejudices, and ill-will of the two countries toward each other.

To give one of the most recent, but very mild examples of this disparaging spirit: Mr. Noyes (who has, I believe, the credit, and deservedly so, for being a man of an expansive mind, and noble Christian charity), in his recent critique of some of Mr. Ruskin's Socialistic views heads his article, "An English Fog." Now Mr. Ruskin, I suppose, is not England. If one of Mr. Noyes's own countrymen (Wendell Phillips, for instance) had written the piece Mr. Noyes criticised, would he in that case have headed it "An American Fog?" I trow not.

I have noticed a similar disparaging spirit toward England and the English in some of the articles of other members of the O. C., at which as a Communist I have been much grieved and surprised. I do not conclude, however, on that account, that the whole three hundred members, or any of them, except the persons who wrote the articles, are either in a fog, or that they are narrow-minded—full of prejudice against all who do not happen to have been born in that part of the world called the United States.

Surely it is high time that we considered in our practical, every-day life that the world is our country and mankind our countrymen. Yours truly, Communist.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

We very heartily agree with the spirit and aim of the above criticism; and will only say in extenuation of our faulty title that our thought was, not that England is to be blamed as a whole for Mr. Ruskin's foggy pronunciamento, but that his fogginess was truly English, that is, a manifestation of narrow nationalism, as shown in his beseeching his Sheffield friend "not to try to learn any thing from America." Still it would probably have been better, for the sake of international courtesy, to have found a tamer title. England is, indeed, rather famous for its fogs literally; but we do not think any the worse of it on that account; nor do we imagine that fog is its universal or even its prevailing state, either literally or figuratively. We have a truly filial regard for English Socialists as our columns abundantly testify; and we will try to do better the next time. We are outgrowing Oneida Communism; and hope to outgrow Americanism. All hail to Internationalism and Interworldism!

J. H. N.

"THE GREAT COMMUNITY."

Avondale, Pa., Nov. 30, 1877.

I have been much interested in the letters of your correspondents on the necessity of the organization of Socialists. No doubt the time has fully come, and our friend Theo. L. Pitt, has, I conceive, hit on the right name for the organization: "The Great Community."

Now what are the special objects of this organization? To teach the theory of and to realize practical Communism as a better, a higher social system of society. The means—schools of Socialism.

To carry out this work we need a president, secretary and committee *pro tem.* Would our friend Theo. L. Pitt accept the privilege of acting as secretary for the time being? No doubt he could induce others of his friends of a similar spirit, and equally ripe for the work, to join him in this enterprise, as president and committee. It matters little where this simple, but vitally important government is located, as it could be moved whenever thought desirable. Thus, if our friend could undertake to commence this all-important work, we should have an executive to assist in establishing local organizations, to call a congress of Socialists when the proper time should come, and generally to guide, take charge of, and push on the work.

These local organizations could begin at once, if not in lecture-halls, in each other's houses, "breaking bread from house to house with gladness and singleness of heart," as did the Socialists of eighteen hundred years ago, who daily added great numbers to their association. Of course, we must be possessed of a similar self-sacrificing spirit, as well as adopt similar means, if we would have similar results.

The time is at hand, dear friends, when this work must be begun, aye, and begun in earnest; no lukewarm, no half-hearted attempts will do if we would have God bless the means. Socialism is coming to the front, from *above*, and from *below*, and it will depend upon the wise and the good *which* shall *first* take the field. Whether it is to be Communism, conceived and carried out by the power of love, and of wisdom, or Communism promulgated by force. Do I exaggerate when I say that social, or political revolutions, or both, are at the door of nearly every nation in Europe? that the strife between capital and labor is being more and more bitter, and that even in these United Republican States society is far from being safe?

Let us to the front then with all our hearts and minds, for a great and awful responsibility rests upon us. Did the early

Christian Socialists wait till there was a demand for the highest principles which were to save the world?

We have already an excellent and powerful organ for the new revival. Thanks to our good and brave friends of Oneida. We have also numerous Communities who aim at realizing in every-day life the principles we wish to nationalize, and which will yet save the nations. Can we count on these veteran spiritual Socialists joining the Great Community, so that we may have the advantage of their great Communistic experience, and emulate their spiritual life? What say our dear sisters and brothers of the Shaker sccieties? Those of Icaria, Amana, Aurora, Zoar, Bethel, Harmony, Brocton, Santa Rosa? Oneida is already doing the pioneer work; Will these Communities, one and all, collectively and individually join with us in realizing a great spiritual Community? The practical Socialism they have daily lived for years, through good report and through evil report, is a guarantee that they will not be behind in this modern Pentecostal revival of the divine means for leading humanity to a higher and a divine life.

We must throw intellectual differences to the winds, and become one in heart, one in the self-sacrificing Christ spirit, one with God.

When our secretary is ready, you see I am assuming his secretaryship, we (indeed all) who wish to join the Great Community should send in our names and addresses, so that he may see where there are two or three or more members in the same city, town or village, and place them in communication with one another, so that they may join in forming local organizations. The different Communities named above are already local organizations, and practical schools of Socialism. Let us hope that they will soon become part and parcel of the Great Community, sending their monthly reports to it through the SOCIALIST, in which they will give statements of their daily, spiritual and material life—their Communistic footprints for the guidance of their fellow Socialists in spirit union with them.

Your excellent correspondents, E. T. Craig and John W. Ashton, would, I am sure, be glad to give you practical suggestions for schools of Socialism, as they were teachers in the celebrated school of Socialism at Salford, Manchester, Eng., very interesting accounts of which they have already sent to the SOCIALIST.

Hoping and believing, therefore, that practical steps will be at once taken for the organization of all Socialists, both of this country and others, as one Great Community, divided into schools for the development of true life, and the progressive establishing of practical Communism, I remain in full hope, yours faithfully, ROBERT STEPHENS.

REMARKS.

WE like the interest in, and the enthusiasm for, unity and progress in Socialism which this letter manifests. We shall be glad to receive and publish reports of actual steps taken to form local Socialistic Clubs anywhere, as we have done in the case of the club at Ancora, N. J., and others; and all correspondence and communications in the interest of the cause of Socialism, which can be made available for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, and for promoting unity among genuine Socialists, will be cordially welcomed. But we do not see our way to undertake, at present, the formal organization of an extensive system such as our correspondent proposes; first, because we have all we can well attend to just now in helping make the AMERICAN SOCIALIST the power which it ought to be; and secondly, because we think that a certain progress in the work of spontaneous local organization ought to precede any attempt to form combinations on a large scale. To prepare the way for and promote such spontaneous action is one of the main functions of the paper, and we think that one of the most practical and vital ways in which to strengthen the cause of Socialism at this time is for its friends to devise ways and means to help perfect, strengthen, and extend the influence of, the AMERICAN SOCIALIST. We are working steadily, through the paper, to promote unity of purpose and concert of action, not only among individual Socialists, but among all Socialistic organizations old and new. Many and cheering indications come to us of a growing tendency in this direction.

The "Great Community" is a living, growing body, and we expect its members every-where will, sooner or later, catch the fire of unity and come into open acquaintance and vital organization with one another. Let us hasten slowly. The present work seems to be:

1. For every one to study how best to become, personally, a medium of the "Great Community Spirit," and so help fill the world with Peace and Agreement.

2. For men and women of good and honest hearts, every-where, to begin to search one another out and mutually help one another, and work together in the spirit of Christ.

As fast as these things are attended to Competism will begin to die, and Communism to take its place. Organization will be easy and spontaneous. T. L. P.

ENGLAND has to face some big problems for the immediate future. Her manufacturing interests are depressed because the great famine in India has diminished her trade in cotton and other goods; but what if, as seems probable, English capital should betake itself to the cotton-growing districts of India, and, availing itself of the low price of native labor, supply the Indian market with Indian products? That might affect England more seriously than the temporary famine which has in so short a time cut down so many millions. The time is evidently approaching when the principle of human solidarity in its broadest world-signification must receive consideration.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Canfield, O., Dec. 10, 1877.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I have read your splendid papers, every word, with the utmost enthusiasm. I am very happy indeed to see views, I have long held, so ably presented. Should you be able to give a wide circulation to your organ it can not fail of impressing its truth deeply upon the age, for it is not only strong and fine in a literary point of view, but—which is its greatest merit—so nicely modulated as to give no offense to reform's most violent opponent. It is "*the steel hand in the velvet glove.*"

You have put all aspirants after reform under obligations, and I inclose some "copy," in token of my gratitude, which of course you are at liberty to throw into the waste basket. Your many brilliant writers undoubtedly keep you abundantly supplied, and I would send a money compensation instead if I were even as rich as a "church mouse," for then I could nibble my way into the "contribution-box," and should have no scruples—not any—against "robbing Peter" to pay the Paul I like a great deal better.

Wishing you, as journalists and reformers, the very brilliant success your ability, elegant work and noble principles merit, I am most respectfully, C. W. D.

EDITORS OF SOCIALIST:—We receive your paper regularly, and are well pleased with it. Each number contains a literary treat and a blessing. Peace and good will are written throughout its pages; love shed abroad upon all who are so fortunate as to have it to read.

It seems that people having plenty of the necessaries of physical life, and blessed with more than an average amount of benevolence and spirituality, could make transition to Communism rather smoothly. We are preparing to enter in ourselves, and find it difficult to progress. We are "gaining ground" slowly it seems, though fast enough perhaps for solid growth. There are so many vexations, if we give way to them, in our present way of living; so many cares devolve upon *pa* and *ma*, daily repeated till the ambition of life is worn out. Then the children take up the burdens (if indeed they have energy enough), and wear their lives out in the same expensive, joyless, selfish, rasping, sinful way. So that we feel that it is right and expedient for us to lay down selfishness and cultivate a love for God and humanity. We have long known and desired this, but did not see our way clearly, nor perceive that we often stood in our own light.

There is another obstruction we meet besides individual selfishness; it is the big selfishness of humanity, or what you call competism. It has involved many of us in debt, and we find it uphill business to get out, and if perchance some do emerge, it is by a bold effort that leaves them exhausted, and liable to a relapse.

Now if the friends of Communism will organize as talked of in the SOCIALIST, and thus extend a hand each to the other, we will soon be on our way rejoicing.

J. C. WEYBRIGHT,
MARY C. WEYBRIGHT.

RELIGION OR LEGISLATION WANTED.—The plain, unvarnished tale supplied by our special correspondent now among the Pennsylvania miners can not be read with indifference by any just or humane man. We speak of "hard times" when it becomes necessary to forego some luxury, to deny ourselves some familiar pleasure, and to reduce our general standard of expenditure. We complain when pinched to keep up appearances, and repine at the hardship which invades our comfort. In and around the coal fields of an adjoining State, however, *are tens of thousands of workingmen who, with their families, are on the verge of starvation.* A large proportion are unemployed; *those who have work are paid so scantily that what they earn barely keeps soul and body together.* The picture of squalor and wretchedness, of hunger and nakedness, is *shocking enough* to touch the *hardest* heart. It is made more painful by the fact that some of the companies add to the miseries of their people by the enforcement of the truck system. There may be reasons for suspending work in some cases, and for reducing wages in others, but the greed which prompts employers of labor to squeeze out of it the beggarly pittance through the agency of store pay admits of no excuse. It is an infamy which the law in other countries has suppressed.

—*New York Times.*

STORIES OF POVERTY.

[It is good for the rich to see just what the poor have to go through. We have gathered from the members of the Oneida Community some narratives of pre-communistic experiences which we propose to present under the above title. Besides illustrating the distresses that are common among ordinary and "respectable" poor folks, these stories prove what we have often said of the O. C.—that it is not a select society of well-to-do people, but an average slice of humanity, in which all classes are represented and where the rich and the poor meet in equal comfort.]

II.

MR. T.'S STORY.

IN writing an account of my experience in respect to poverty or privation, it is convenient to divide it into three parts: 1st, the period of childhood to fourteen years of age; 2nd, the period from fourteen to twenty-one; and third, the period from twenty-one onward.

During the first period I lived in the rough, mountainous region of Essex County, N. Y., and my recollection of those first fourteen years is tinged with suffering from want, both of food and clothing. My father had a small farm, but the soil was hard and comparatively sterile. It did not produce nearly enough to support the family, and he used to piece out the annual subsistence, by jobbing, such as burning charcoal for the iron-works, clearing land and the like, for others. I was the second child, and population pressed hard upon subsistence in our case, for a new mouth came to be fed once in two years as regularly as the years rolled on. I remember often being hungry and without enough to supply it. Potatoes alone, baked, or roasted in the ashes, with salt, sometimes constituted the meal, though not often. This was most likely to happen in the spring, before we could raise any thing. Such things as spring greens came to us then, not as a pleasant relish, but as a substantial addition to the food supply. When we had enough to eat it was usually simple, plain and of little variety: hasty-pudding and milk, or johnny-cake and milk; meat and potatoes, usually with bread but sometimes not; or johnny-cake and butter, sometimes varied by rye and Indian bread (seldom did we have wheat-bread), and so on; two or three articles—hardly ever more—were seen on the table at one meal. Meat and butter were scarce with us, and both were seldom on the table at once. In the summer we had generally a plentiful supply of wild berries and plums, which served to make that season welcome to us. But save a few dried berries, for a variety, in winter we had little fruit.

As to clothing, I remember very plainly my first pair of shoes. I must have been more than five years old. Before that I went barefooted summer and winter, of course being confined in-doors during the latter season, except as I would run out for a few moments to pick up a basket of chips for my mother or to do some other little chore. Sometimes she would put stockings on my feet, wrap some cloth around and sew it on, so that I could go to the neighbors' of an errand or have a play-spell outdoors, slide down-hill, etc.; and I remember going to school a mile or more, most of one winter, with my feet clad in that way. A single suit of clothing during much of this period was all that could be afforded, and sometimes one garment would hardly last, even with much patching, till another could be furnished to take its place. I remember once hearing mother say, when mending my pants, that she could hardly tell which was the original cloth, so variegated was the patching, which, by the way, was usually done when I had gone to bed.

Our house was of rough logs, the spaces between being "mudded up," that is, filled with clay. There were two parts or rooms to it; one of which was occupied by my paternal grandparents and the other by my parents. Each room was kitchen, dining-room and sleeping-room. The chamber, which was reached by a ladder, was next to the bare roof of rafters and boards or slabs running up and down, with a floor of rough boards not fastened down. The roof was not tight, so the rain would come through freely, especially after a dry time, and the snow played its antics through the long winters, making little drifts here and there, and often covering our beds, for the children slept up stairs as soon as old enough.

During the second period I lived in St. Lawrence Co., N. Y. On moving there our condition improved. The country was more productive, and necessaries were more easily obtained. Before fourteen years of age I was puny, and of not much use except to go to school and run on errands. But now I became stronger, and soon began to work out for wages to help support the family. In this way I was able to get better clothing; and as I generally worked for well-to-do farmers of those times, 1837 to 1844, there was plenty to eat, and I was well housed. My father here took up a tract of land, wholly forest, built a log-house in the woods, some 16 by 20 feet, and this one apartment, with the chamber under

the bare roof, and a small addition made sometime after, was all the room there was for the family, which in 1842 numbered thirteen, there being eleven children. But the older ones, both boys and girls, were working out much of the time, so the crowding in the limited room was much relieved. For a time after taking this new home the state of things as to food and clothing was about as I have before described, but afterward the help of the older children served to produce a more tolerable condition. During this period I suffered only from hard work, which was mostly farming or clearing land for cultivation. The rule then and there required the hired man or boy to work during nearly all the daylight there was, both winter and summer. In haying and harvest—the most driving time—the hours of labor ranged from fourteen to sixteen, including meal-times, and besides we were often required to do chores, such as milking, etc., after dark. I remember often being tired and sore in almost every limb and muscle, so that it required the spur of ambition and will to keep at work.

At seventeen I began teaching school winters at $10 a month, and "boarded round." This was an improvement in my circumstances, for the school-master had better fare than the ordinary wage-laborer. In the winter of 1843–4 I taught a school of forty scholars for $9 a month. It was then very hard times, money scarce, and necessaries high. I was in my twentieth year. In the spring, my older brother having determined to go to Ohio, my father decided to let me go with him. With $10 all told and our clothing in knapsacks on our backs, we started on foot, March 26, 1844, with the snow two feet deep, and walked to Buffalo, *via* Watertown, Oswego and Rochester. Between Oswego and Rochester our money was spent, and then we adopted the course of stopping at farm-houses, asking lodging and food and offering to work enough to pay for what we got. We were generally well, sometimes very kindly treated, and so worked our way along. At one place near Rochester we stopped several days chopping cord-wood at three shillings a cord, and got money enough to enable us to reach Buffalo. There we worked a few days loading and unloading vessels at the docks, but could only earn enough to pay expenses. When we started from home, we thought of shipping as sailors when we reached the lakes (my brother having sailed on Lake Champlain), and we went to Sacketts Harbor and Oswego for that purpose, but failed, as we did also at Buffalo, there being more sailors than places. It will be seen from this that we were "tramps." So we decided to push on to Cleveland, O. I had a silver watch with me worth $5 which I sold for $2, and this paid a deck passage for us by steamboat to Cleveland, which occupied one night. There we found relatives who helped us to employment, and during the summer we saved money to help pay the passage of the whole family from Ogdensburg to Cleveland. From that time onward (being then twenty-one), I did business for myself, my capital being my head and hands, and did not want for material things; that is, I had sufficient for one in my situation and in those times.

From twenty-one to twenty-seven, I was mostly employed in sailing during the summer, and teaching school or working at ship-carpentering in the winter. In 1846 I became part-owner of a lumber-craft which I sailed, carrying lumber from ports on the Canadian shore to Buffalo. At the close of the season I made the last trip to Buffalo and laid up there. Being in debt somewhat at Cleveland for building material, I sent all the money the vessel had earned to apply on the debts, and planned to stay in Buffalo and work in a ship-yard through the winter and take care of the craft. I was an utter stranger there, except to a few with whom I had traded, but I got a place in a ship-yard and went to work, taking board at a boarding-house. I had worked but a few days when I was attacked with a violent ague and fever. This continuing, and having but a few dollars, I left the boarding-house and went on board my vessel as the only resource, and there stayed alone, battling with the disease through the long winter. I had the shakes at first every other day, and sometimes every day for a time. I broke up the disease with "patent medicines" several times, and would then go to work, but did not do more than enough to get fuel to keep from freezing in my little cabin, and the barest subsistence. Much of the time I cared little whether I lived or died; many a day I lay in my bunk, now shivering with ague, and then burning with fever, scarcely stirring from my bed for twenty-four hours. That winter had more of misery crowded into it than any ten years of my life. Why I did not write to my friends and make my situation known, or apply to somebody for relief in some way, I can not tell; it is probable that at first I resisted the disease and held on in hope of getting rid of it, but that I became weakened and almost demented by it, and so simply drifted along under its malignant power.

It is a proverb that "misery loves company." The latter part of the winter, as I was lying in my bunk one day, the cabin door was opened, and a most miserably-looking object presented himself in the form of a boy whom I had known in Ohio. He was fifteen or sixteen years of age, a poor homeless fellow, who, by some mischance which I do not now recall, had got to Buffalo that winter and had been tramping around the vicinity. He was covered with rags and dirt, and looked as if just ready to perish. I recognized him and bade him enter. He too had the ague and was almost starved. I took him in, had him wash himself, and then took care of him as well as I could. I allowed him to stay with me till spring, when he was sent back to Cleveland by steamboat by myself and partner. This passage in my life that winter is sure, when recalled, to touch a chord of tenderness and sympathy for poverty, no matter how faulty may be its victims.

When spring came I got relief from the ague and went about my business again, but suffered more or less from the ague every year for many years. During this period (from twenty-one to twenty-seven) it was my aim to enter the ministry when I should become sufficiently educated; so I expended my savings in books and gave my leisure to self-culture. Accordingly at twenty-seven I began to preach, and soon after married, my worldly goods being comprised in books, clothing, and a horse and buggy worth not more than $100. My wife brought in bedding and some furniture, and thus we began. From 1850 to 1854 I preached to rural societies in northern Ohio, at a salary of $250 to $300 a year. We lived in a fair log-house which was old but pleasantly situated, and I eked out a support by gardening on the home-lot and receiving a donation occasionally from some society, of provisions and clothing. We had enough, but life was humble and demand kept close to supply.

In 1854 I moved to Iowa and went into a saw-mill and lumber business, in a locality where the first settlers had been but three years. I built a log-house in the woods, covered with shakes—strips of oak split out about three feet long, six inches wide, and one-half an inch thick, laid on up and down with the edges lapping, and held in place by heavy poles lengthwise of each tier; a good roof for snow to sift through. We lived here in a quite rough and primitive way till 1859, working hard and faring plainly; but grain, meat and potatoes were plenty and cheap, and want did not oppress. The financial crash of 1857–8 found me in debt from having just previously bought land and the interest of two partners in the business, and the result was that to pay those debts all my property had to be sold, and I was left to begin anew again. This I did in 1859, moving to the county-seat, and commencing the practice of law, having prepared myself by studying, as I had leisure from labor, for a few years previously. Here I lived in a rented house, and almost from hand to mouth, on a small but growing professional income, till the war broke out. I then entered the army as an officer, and from my salary during the next four years saved enough beyond the support of my family to provide a home in Cleveland, O., in 1867, where, till coming to the Community, I enjoyed comparative comfort and prosperity, and really got above any oppression from want.

A NEW JOURNAL OF SPIRITUALISM.

THE new Spiritualist paper, *The Voice of Truth*, edited and published by Mrs. Mary Dana Shindler and Mrs. Annie C. Torrey Hawks, Memphis, Tenn., is a handsome and interesting sheet. There is an earnest and reverent tone in its articles, and a recognition of the spiritualism of Christ and the New Testament, which are noteworthy and refreshing. At the head of its columns is placed the following motto:

"May the Spirit of God—the Spirit of Truth, Love and Wisdom—and the teachings of the great Truth-Teller, Jesus of Nazareth, inspire these pages, and the hearts of all who read them. AMEN."

The Voice of Truth, will be devoted to Spiritualism and all reforms. In their Salutatory the editors say:

"Our programme is somewhat different from that of most Spiritual papers, in that we propose to give a general view and synopsis of the current literature of the day; and especially shall we give attention to all reformatory plans and movements in every portion of the civilized world. One great feature of our journal will be its advocacy of all schemes to promote the physical, mental, and spiritual welfare of *woman;* and her emancipation from the galling yoke of a prejudiced, narrow-minded public opinion. Especially shall we closely watch for, and advocate, every avenue of employment for her head, heart, and hands; and strive to place her where she belongs, at the side of, and not below her natural friend and protector, man. Her status, in regard to political power, is a subject we shall, for the present, ignore; believing that, when she shall have secured her proper and legitimate place in literature, science, and art, she will naturally find her appropriate sphere of action in the public and private drama of life, and all vexed questions will adjust themselves without any difficulty."

As showing the spirit in which Social Reform will be treated in its columns we quote the following liberal-minded editorial article on

"COMMUNISM.

"The word Communism, like another word which we could mention, has a frightful sound to ears polite. This is because that word is associated with the agrarian and revolutionary ideas of the Communists of France, and the outbursts of fury recently exhibited in the United States, when men, driven to desperation by their sufferings, and headed by unprincipled and designing leaders, destroyed recklessly a vast amount of property, and caused the shedding of blood, without accomplishing their ends, or benefiting society.

"But there is a kind of Communism advocated by the great Teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, which those who profess to follow His teachings seem to have forgotten; or, if they remember his words they explain them away, and live each man for himself, totally ignoring the human brotherhood taught by Him whom they call Master.

"Oh ye, who call yourselves Christians, do you remenber that your brethren in the Primitive Church had all things in common, and they who had goods gave to those who had none? Hear what is written in that Book, which you clasp to your hearts as your guide—your solace in life, and your comfort in death:

"'And the multitude of them which believed were of one heart, and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. * * * Neither was there any among them that lacked.'

"These words sound strangely to us now, in these days of selfishness and luxury; but, thanks be to God, there are many great souls now striving to bring about something like an approximation to the grand ideas of primitive Christianity, and, in time, the world will hear their voices, and pause to consider and to weigh their words. Unfortunately, perhaps, these pioneers of social improvement have mingled with their attempts at organization, ideas and practices which are repugnant to the feelings and thoughts of others, as benevolent and progressive as themselves; while the great mass of those belonging to the (so-called) Christian churches, frown upon what they consider innovations, and brand all men of advanced ideas as iconoclasts, infidels, and fools. But the time has come when something must be done to smooth down the inequalities of the social system, when, according to the words of the prophet Isaiah, 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the the rough places be made plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.'

"May God hasten this time, but it can not come without human effort, for we are not placed here as mere instruments to be played upon by the fingers of the great Architect and Builder; He has commanded us to work out our own salvation, and we must do it, or not be saved at all.

"Coöperation, the banding together of men and women as brothers and sisters, would relieve the awful pressure of the times, make it easier and pleasanter to die. The subject is not understood, it is overlaid with prejudice, the result of ignorance, and all that is needed is a reverent and earnest study of its great and vital principles. Begin coöperation upon a small scale, and you will be astonished at the great and pleasant results."

As a whole the paper is a new and significant departure in Spiritualistic and reform literature. Its editors are Southern ladies of the highest respectability and culture. There is room and need for just such a paper, and we wish it success. It is published at 206 Union St., Memphis, at $2.50 a year. T. L. P.

This is Charles Sumner's estimate of Lord Brougham, made when he was a young man under thirty and studying in Europe: "He passed from topic to topic, expressing himself always with correctness, and forcibility unrivalled; but, I must say, with a manner not only far from refined, but even vulgar. He had not gentleness or suavity; neither did he show any of the delicate attentions of the host.....I have dined in company nearly every day since I have been in England, and I do not remember to have met a person who swore half as much as Lord Brougham; and all this in conversation with an aged clergyman. His manner was rapid, hurried, and his voice very loud. He seemed uneasy and restless, and made me feel the same. His language, as you may suppose, was vigorous, and to the point.....I am disposed to think that there is in him a nervousness and

immense activity which is near akin to insanity, and which at present jangles the otherwise even measure of his character."

THE TRUTH.

BY MRS. M. C. W. DAWSON.

Its seed was sown in the primal night,
And it took to root and was radical thought,
And though its foliage, in the blight
Of the darkness so, all came to nought;
Still it burrowed on, with the choking sod
Above, 'till it took a giant's hold
On the beautiful saving Earth of God,
And could never more be torn from her mold.

But seeking again and again to bud
Under an ever adverse sky,
The Earth grew sick on martyrs' blood,
And called on the struggling Truth to die;
To put forth never more bud or bloom!
And the Truth obeyed—and under ground
Seek now for Truth, of its root in the tomb,
For it 's only there that Truth is found.

Only there, with the dead in God!
Only there, with the stirless root
That men have trampled out of the sod
And beaten to ashes under foot!
Only there, with the withered leaf
Of joys that Sin would not let grow,
That under its Upas came to grief
'Till it did no good for God to sow!

Only there! Ah, *only* there!
With the hope that proved a shallow cheat,
And Earth a desert bleak and bare
Under the tread of Satyrs' feet!
Only there, with the truest faiths
That bled their lives out sad and slow;
Only there, with the waiting wraiths
Of God's avengers, lying low.

Only there, and yet the dust
Of Truth's old root is living still;
And the grave shall bud of the germs in trust,
Over the dust of the perished ill,
Over the rotted cross of Hate,
Over the gibbet's musty mold,
Over the spears of conquered Fate,
Over the flame-shroud, over the cold!

Over Earth's old command, that men
Sustain to-day in subtle ways,
Over the adverse tongue and pen,
Over the blight of luke-warm praise;
Over red oxides of the knife,
Over the muck of perished swine,
Over the sob of conquered strife,
Over *all* wrongs, in *God's good time*.

THE MAGAZINES.

Harper's Monthly for January has four illustrated articles—"A Glimpse of Prague," "The Hot Springs of Arkansas," "On the Welsh Border," by Wirt Sikes, and "Life on Broadway." Mr. Rideing, the writer of the last-mentioned paper has a new definition of Communism *viz.*: "A Communist might gaze happily on the world from Trinity steeple; for while all others would be reduced to a common level of insignificance, he himself would be above them all, and that is communism of a practical sort." This is a little different from our idea of practical Communism, although we claim to be a practical Communist, and have even "gazed happily on the world from Trinity steeple." "A Turko-Russian War" gives an account of the invasion of Turkey by the Russians in 1828–29, and Dr. Draper's series of popular scientific papers concludes with an explanation of the cause of the flow of the sap in plants, and the circulation of the blood in animals, with familiar illustrations. Miss Thackeray's Serial Story is concluded, and also Mrs. Fremont's "Year of American Travel." The opening illustration—view of the Carlsbridge and Tower, at Prague—is unusually good and striking.

The *Atlantic* for January has three good poems by Longfellow, Whittier and Holmes; Chas. Dudley Warner tells how he shot a bear in the Adirondacks, and Mark Twain contributes the fourth and concluding installment of his "Rambling Notes of an Idle Excursion," of which series by the way, the humor is rather forced, and somewhat below the usual Mark Twain level. Probably Bermuda does not afford so good a field for the exercise of wit, as some other localities. "The Result in South Carolina," is a discussion of the effect of the President's policy on that State, by one of its citizens; Mr. Knight's illustrated paper on the Centennial Exhibition is mainly occupied with the production and manufacture of cotton and silk in various countries, and "An Episode in the Life of an Artist," is an analysis, historical and critical, of the Fantastic Symphony of Hector Berlioz. Henry James, Jr.'s "Little Tour in France," is an agreeable sketch of the champagne district in that country; Mr. Westbrook discusses art and the drama in New York; Mr. Howells gives an outline of the life of Edward Gibbon, and Arthur Searle furnishes the article on "Mars," which is a part of the regular programme of every well-conducted magazine, since the Martian moons.

RECEIVED.

TRAVELERS' OFFICIAL GUIDE of the Railway and Steam Navigation Lines in the United States and Canadas. National Railway Publication Company: Philadelphia.

THE BOSTON BOOK BULLETIN. A Quarterly Eclectic Record of American and Foreign Books: L. Lothrop & Co., Publishers.

ZELL'S POPULAR ENCYCLOPEDIA. A Universal Dictionary of English Language, Science, Literature and Art. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Baker, Davis & Co.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Old age and death have tamed Herr Dreisbach, the lion-tamer.

The President and Mrs. Hayes' silver wedding comes this month.

We shall see whether the railway president is going to be our king.

Vermont University has 184 students, twelve of whom are young women.

Tennessee is still at work trying to pay her debts by only half paying them.

Don't believe a word in the idea that we are going to have a war with Mexico.

Why didn't some of those balance-of-power-fellows in the South sustain the President?

The public schools of New Haven will get along without prayer and a chapter from the beautiful Gospels.

The Northern bayonet and the Southern fire-eater are likely to worry each other in that Senate of ours.

Do you suppose that Senator Conkling is going to be the President of the United States for the State of New York?

Now is the time for the President to show his amicable obstinacy; but if he is wise he won't do it, the newspapers say.

Our experience with the Pacific Railroads won't prevent the friends of the Southern Pacific from asking for all the subsidies they want.

The President's friends are every-where in the country: they may be somewhat scarce among the politicians and jobbers in Washington though.

The Mayor of New York, the Excise Commissioners, the Police Commissioners, the lawyers and the unlicensed liquor dealers are making a mess of it.

Surrogate Calvin has decided that all that talk about Vanderbilt's spiritualism doesn't affect the will at all—his dealing with the clairvoyants was too far off for that.

The National Bank Redemption Agency is about to issue a list of counterfeit National Bank notes on a plan that will prevent any one—even a woman—from taking bad money.

The *American Naturalist* has passed from the hands of Hurd & Houghton to McCalla & Stavely, Philadelphia. It will be edited by A. S. Packard, Jr., and Prof. E. D. Cope.

If Vanderbilt consulted the clairvoyants don't you suppose he found his money in it? That man suffer himself to be regularly humbugged and not see that he was losing cash by it! Humph!

The Lennox Library, New York, is opened at last. It supplies a want not met by any other in the country. The building and ground on which it stands, Fifth-av. and Seventieth and Seventy-fourth-sts., cost $1,000,000.

A convention of delegates from nine different trades-unions met lately in St. Louis for the purpose of taking measures to establish an industrial home of tradesmen and laborers. A working committee of nine was appointed.

The House has passed a bill restoring $40,000 to certain parties in New Orleans whose property was taken during the rebellion contrary to pledges, it is said. There has been some scare lest this bill should be a cover to untold Southern claims.

Stewart's new Hotel for Women is to have a kitchen that will offer many of the advantages of community cooking. Meats, vegetables and pastry will be cooked in every style, and sold somewhere near cost to any body who wishes to live and be without the trouble of a kitchen at home. Such institutions ought to have a fair trial.

By the admission of Eustis from Louisiana the United States Senate is now full. This could not have been said of it at any time since the beginning of secession in 1861. It now consists of seventy-six members—thirty-nine of whom are Republicans, thirty-six are Democrats and one Independent. In 1879 it will be unmistakably Democratic.

The greasers around El Paso, Texas, together with a lot from over the Rio Grande, have besieged the Americans in the town of San Elizario, and killed six persons. The local militia not being strong enough to cope with the outlaws. Gov. Hubbard has called on the President for aid. It was a local affair—an attempt by the Mexicans to lynch a Texan that had killed an Italian.

There was an association formed in New York city last fall, for emigration to Florida, under the name of "The Saint John's Florida Coöperative Colony." Ten thousand acres of land have been secured on the St. John's, 85 miles south of Jacksonville. The Association is limited to 250 members. Traveling expenses, and cost of land, stock, implements, seed and provisions for the first four months, are to be defrayed by the society, each member making a payment of $117. No Catholics need apply.

The President has been defeated on his New York Custom-House appointments, the Senate under the lead of Conkling having refused to confirm the nomination of Messrs. Roosevelt and Prince, Collector and Naval officer respectively, on the alleged ground that there was no good reason for removing Messrs. Arthur and Cornell, the present incumbents. The appointment of Gen. Merritt to the position of Surveyor was, however, confirmed, that office being vacant. The President was supported by twenty Democrats and five Republicans. It remains to be seen whether the contemplated improvements in the New York Custom House will have to be foregone. Although defeated the President seems to have the best of it when we consider that he is the more disinterested party, and the least open to questionable motive.

FOREIGN.

The telephone takes in England.

The Turk is calling for somebody to take this fellow off.

The French are getting grape-vines from America; their's are so sick with phylloxera.

Prof. Callodon of Geneva says our lightning rods are too thin—got to be made stouter.

One of the inconveniences of poverty is that you can't buy any pottery of a quaint and curious device.

The Czar: melancholy has marked him for her own. He will go home if the Turks don't get any more advantages.

When Germany takes up that old cry of Xenophon's Greeks, "The sea! the sea!!" then the Dutchmen and Flemings will have to give way.

The Turkish Council of State has decided to appoint three Christian Governors of Provinces. This looks like toleration, but more like death-bed repentance.

The budget admitted to the present Prussian House of Deputies calls for 14,538,374 marks to be divided among six different scientific and industrial institutions.

Sitting Bull is contrary. He won't go back because he thinks the United States want him. If he stays in Canada he may have to be "interred" and that would be as good as killing him.

M. Dufaure did appoint a Ministry at last. MacMahon sickened of the Duc de Broglie and his other illegal advisers, and surrendered to the Republicans with some grace and a good deal of humility.

There is so much American meat going to England that one traveling in that country will have to be wide awake for old names and associations or else he will miss the famous roast beef of "merrie England."

Mr. Arthur Nicols says in a communication to *Nature* that the *Eucalyptus* tree is no dissipator of malaria. He has lived under the tree and had the chills play up and down his back and the fever go over him as if he were a prairie on fire.

John Bright has said that there are 935 men in the United Kingdom who own 23,000,000 acres of land, or one-third of the whole. Send every one of those men a book called "Ten Acres is Enough," but don't say that the author afterwards bought a little more land jining.

France had 5,617 suicides in 1874. Of these, 4,435 were men; 2,645 were married persons; 2,214 occurred between the ages of 40 and 60; 2,472 were by strangulation. Thirty-one per cent. of them occurred in the spring, and the greatest number (1,622) were caused by mental maladies.

The United States Consul at Odessa says that the wheat crop in Southern Russia is unusually large and good. The war has compelled the Russians to use the new and improved agricultural machinery. Having learned how to ride a two-horse reaper the Muscovite will be slow to get down and go to cutting wheat with a sickle.

France is anxious over the political situation. France is over the crater of a volcano. France is in a state of intense excitement. Every molecule of her flesh and blood is vibrating hot and mad. There is no outward demonstration. The Presidential gentleman with an Irish name has yielded at last and France has a Republican Cabinet. We hope we shall not have to take this all back to-morrow.

The active operations in Bulgaria are now confined to Elena where the Russians are reported to have fought the enemy and taken 12,000 men. That there has been an engagement at Metchka, about nine miles southwest of Rustchuck, is no longer doubtful. Sixty battalions of Turkey are said to have attacked Prince Vladimir on the 12th but did not carry his positions. The Russian loss was set down at 3,000 killed, but is much exaggerated.

Pongo is dead, but the London rough is still alive. See his photograph: "His gorilla jaws," says the *Contemporary Review*, "his eyes, (to quote Sheridan) 'like two dead beetles stuck in a wad of dough,' his stunted figure, his ugly broad shoulders, his neck so often seamed with scrofula, his knock-knees and slouching gait combined in a large number of cases with an aspect of repulsive brute strength—who does not recognize the picture? We may often see him acting as the conductor of an omnibus or tram-car. The mark of the 'prison crop' is yet legible upon him; and you wonder not that the companies are robbed, but that such men can be kept in check at all."

The more immediate cause of the fall of Plevna was the presence of a raging epidemic among the Turks and not the lack of provisions. The number of men in Osman Pasha's army was by no means large, scarcely 27,000 men. According to official returns the Russian losses in the fight preceding the surrender were 10 officers and 182 men killed, 45 officers and 1,207 men wounded. The Turks lost 4,000 killed and wounded. They surrendered 10 Pashas, 128 staff officers, 2,000 officers, and 20,000 infantry, and 1,200 cavalry. Seventy-seven cannon were also captured. The importance of Plevna was soon felt by the Russians after crossing the Danube. On the 19th of July it was taken by a detachment of troops under Gen. Krudener. Being suddenly attacked while resting in the security of this victory, they were driven out of the town by the Turks. Their flight cost them some 2,900 men. From that moment the possession of Plevna became vital and the Russians bent all their energies to regaining it. On the 31st of July Gens. Krudener and Shockoskoy made separate attacks upon it. One on the outlying village of Gravitza, and the other on the village Rudishova. They had an army of 32,000 men between them, but the result was disastrous in the extreme. After this both parties were reinforced till the Russians had an army of 100,000 men, and the Turks 75,000. On the 31st of August the Turks became the attacking party. With a force of 25,000 men Osman Pasha made an attempt to break the Russian lines in front of Poredin, but failed after a desperate attempt. The next move on the part of the Russians was Skobeleff's capture of Lovatz, a strong position to the southeast of Plevna. Encouraged by this success the Russians made a three days' assault (Sept. 7—10) the principal brunt of which fell on Gen. Skobeleff, who made his attack upon the Grivitza redoubts. After this terrible loss and lesson the Russians concluded to take the town by regular investment and siege. Gen. Todleben, the old Crimean engineer, was put in charge. By the capture of Gorny-Dubnik Plevna was cut off its base of supplies at Sophia. Communications with Widdin were next cut. And then came the end.

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